

Message Text

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-----051950Z 071523 /41

O R 051800Z APR 77
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2680
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USCINCEUR
USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 USNATO 1970

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR: DATA DISAGGREGATION: SPC MEETING APRIL 5

REF: (A) USNATO 1933 (DTG 041748Z APR 77),
(B) STATE 69129 (DTG 290155Z MAR 77)
(C) STATE 67040 (DTG 252317Z MAR 77)

SUMMARY: SPC ON APRIL 5 RETURNED TO QUESTION OF
TABLING NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS OF EACH DIRECT
PARTICIPANT. FRG MADE ITS DATA PROPOSAL, WHICH
THE UK AND NETHERLANDS CRITICIZED ON INSTRUCTIONS.
FRG MADE CLEARER THAN EVER THAT FRG HAS MADE NO
FINAL DECISION ON TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS
AND NEED TIME TO RFLCT. FRG SAID THE TIME LEFT BEFORE
THE END OF THIS NEGOTIATING ROUND WAS TOO SHORT.
ACTION REQUESTED: SEE PARA 17 BELOW. END SUMMARY.

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1. DANISH REP (ANDERSON) SAID THAT HIS AUTHORITIES
AGREED WITH THE UK AND THE NETHERLANDS THAT THE
NAC SHOULD AUTHORIZE THE AHG TO TABLE NATIONAL
SUB-TOTALS FOR THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.
NORWEGIAN REP (GAARDER) SAID NORWAY ALSO FAVORED
THIS COURSE. CANADIAN REP (BACON) SAID THAT
CANADA HAS NO PROBLEM WITH AUTHORIZING THE AHG
TO TABLE NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS, BUT IS AWARE OF
THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH THE FRG HAS IN COMING TO
ITS OWN CONCLUSION. IF THE FRG NEEDS FURTHER

TIME TO CONSIDER THE MATTER, CANADA IS WILLING
TO HAVE SOME DELAY.

2. FRG REP (SCHNELLER) SAID THAT HE
APPRECIATED THE REMARK OF THE CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE.
FRG REP SAID HIS INSTRUCTIONS REQUIRED
HIM TO "STAND AGAINST THIS EMERGING CONSENSUS."
THE CONCERN IN BONN IS STILL FIRMLY ENTRENCHED.
THE FRG SEES THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF TABLING
NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS TO BE FAR-
REACHING FOR THE OVERALL WESTERN POSITION. THE
FRG IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS ALL KINDS OF OPTIONS
INCLUDING NATIONAL BREAKDOWNS, BUT WANTS TO DIS-
CUSS OTHER OPTIONS AS WELL BEFORE TAKING ITS
FINAL DECISION. THE TIME LEFT BEFORE THE END
OF THIS NEGOTIATING ROUND WAS TOO SHORT. AT
THIS TIME, THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVITY SHOULD BE PRESERVED
IN A CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS MANNER.

3. FRG REP THEN PRESENTED THE FRG DATA
PROPOSAL. (COMMENT: HE TOLD US
PRIOR TO THE MEETING THAT HE HAD REPORTED TO BONN THE
REACTIONS HE HAD RECEIVED FROM HIS DIFFERENCE SOUNDINGS,
INCLUDING HIS CONVERSATION WITH US - REF A - BUT RECEIVED
INSTRUCTIONS TO TRY THE PROPOSAL IN SPC ANYWAY. END COMMENT.)
BONN SUGGESTED THAT THE WEST PROPOSE TO THE EAST THAT EACH SIDE
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TABLE THE SUB-TOTALS WHICH CORRESPONDED TO ITS
REDUCTIONS APPROACH. THE WEST WOULD STATE US
SUB-TOTALS, AND COLLECTIVE SUB-TOTALS
FOR THE OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. THIS WOULD
BE ON CONDITION THAT THE EAST TABLE SOVIET SUB-
TOTALS, AND SUB-TOTALS FOR EACH EASTERN DIRECT
PARTICIPANT. THIS WOULD ENABLE THE AHG TO
CONTINUE THE DISCUSSION IN VIENNA, AND GIVE US
TIME AT NATO TO CONSIDER OTHER OPTIONS, SUCH AS
AN EXCHANGE ON THE NUMBER OF MAJOR UNITS,
WITHOUT SPECIFYING NATIONALITY, BUT WITH
SPECIFICATION OF MANNING LEVELS. ANOTHER
POSSIBILITY WOULD BE A FUNCTIONAL BREAKDOWN, E.G., BY
COMBAT, COMBAT SUPPORT AND SUPPLY UNITS.

4. FRG REP SAID BONN WISHED TO MAKE TWO ARGUMENTS
IN FAVOR OF THIS APPROACH. FIRST, MOVES IN MBFR
MUST BE MADE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GENERAL CLIMATE
OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THE FRG FEELS THAT AT
THIS MOMENT IT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE TO
BE VERY FORTHCOMING IN MBFR AND "MAKE CONCESSIONS."

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O R 051800Z APR 77
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SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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SECOND, THIS PROPOSED SOLUTION WOULD ENABLE THE
AHG TO PROBE EASTERN ASSURANCES THAT THE EAST WAS NOT
SEEKING TO PREJUDICE THE WESTERN NEGOTIATING POSITION. IF
THE EAST WERE SINCERE, AND DID NOT INTEND TO USE THE DATA
DISCUSSION TO PEN THE WAY TOWARD NATIONAL
REDUCTION COMMITMENTS, THE EAST MIGHT BE ABLE TO ACCEPT THIS
APPROACH.

5. CHAIRMAN(JUNG) ASKED IF HE COULD CONCLUDE
FROM FRG REP'S REMARKS THAT FRG HAD MADE
NO FINAL DECISION ON TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-
TOTALS. FRG REP REPLIED THAT IT WOULD BE
ABSOLUTELY PREMATURE TO SAY ANYTHING ABOUT THE
OUTCOME OF BONN'S CONSIDERATION OF THIS ISSUE.
BONN IS OPEN TO DISCUSSION OF ALL SORTS OF
MODELS, AND NEEDS TO BUY TIME TO REFLECT ON THEIR
CONSEQUENCES. HE SAID THAT IT CANNOT BE
EXCLUDED THAT BONN'S THINKING MIGHT DEVELOP IN
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THE DIRECTION OF TABLING NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS.

6. UK REP (HOLMER) SAID HE WISHED TO ADDRESS THE
FRG PROPSAL TO OFFER AN EXCHANGE OF DATA CORRES-
PONDING TO THE NEGOTIATING POSITION OF EACH
SIDE, WITH THE WEST OFFERING ONLY
COLLECTIVE DATA FOR NON-US DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.
HE SAID THAT HE HAD RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS TO
OBJECT TO SUCH AN APPROACH, SINCE IT WOULD
ESTABLISH A DIRECT LINK BETWEEN DATA EXCHANGE
AND THE WESTERN REDUCTION APPROACH. THIS WOULD

GO AGAINST ANY WESTERN EFFORT TO WORK
OUT A DISCLAIMER THT THE TABLING OF NATIONAL
SUB-TOTALS WAS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE WESTERN
NEGOTIATING APPROACH. THE FRG PROPOSAL
WOULD ALSO PREJUDICE ANY WESTERN
TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS AT A LATER DATE.

7. DUTCH REP (MEESMAN) SAID THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS
CORRESPONDED TO THE REMARKS JUST MADE BY UK REP.
THE PART OF THE FRG PROPOSAL IN QUESTION WOULD
CONFIRM THAT THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS
FOR THE WEST WAS CONTRARY TO THE WESTERN NEGOTIA-
TING POSITION.

8. ITALIAN REP (CIARRAPICO) ON A PERSONAL
BASIS ADVOCATED, BEFORE CONSIDERING THE FRG
PROPOSAL, THAT THE ALLIES PERSIST IN SEEKING
AN EXCHANGE SIMPLY OF US-SOVIET SUB-TOTALS.
CHAIRMAN POINTED OUT THAT AHG REPORT HAD
CONCLUDED THAT THE EAST HAD RESPONDED NEGATIVELY
TO THIS ALLIED PROPOSAL.

9. US REP (MOORE) RECALLED THAT THE US HAD
SAID AT THE PREVIOUS MEETING THAT WE DO NOT
BELIEVE TABLING NATIONAL FIGURES FOR DIRECT
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PARTICIPANTS WOULD PREJUDICE THE WESTERN POSITION
ON COLLECTIVE MBFR OBLIGATIONS (PARA 2, REF B).
HE ALSO RECALLED AMBASSADOR RESOR'S
REMARK AT THE APRIL 1 NAC ON THE INADVISABILITY
OF NATO ITSELF CREATING THE IMPRESSION THAT
THERE IS A CONNECTION BETWEEN THE DATA EXCHANGE
AND THE SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES
(PARA 6, REF C).

10. CHAIRMAN ASKED FRG REP IF THE PROPOSAL
THAT THE WEST TABLE US SUB-TOTALS AND COLLECTIVE
SUB-TOTALS FOR WESTERN DIRECT PATICIPANTS IN
RETURN FOR SUB-TOTALS OF EACH EASTERN DIRECT
PARTICIPANT COULD BE MADE WITHOUT USING THE
RATIONALE THAT EACH SIDE WOULD TABLE
THE DATA THAT CORRESPONDED WITH ITS OWN
NEGOTIATING POSITION. FRG REP CONFIRMED
THAT THIS PROPOSAL COULD BE MADE WITHOUT THIS
RATIONALE, IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY POSSIBILITY
OF TYING OUR HANDS. UK REP REPLIED THAT THIS
PARTICULAR FRG PROPOSAL WOULD NOT BUY ANY TIME
BECAUSE IT WOULD BE REJECTED IMMEDIATELY BY THE

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EAST. THE WEST WOULD NOT BE OFFERING ANY MORE THAN
THEY WERE WHEN THEY WERE SEEKING ONLY THE SOVIET
SUB-TOTALS, AND SINCE THE SOVIETS
HAD REFUSED TO TABLE THEIR SUB-TOTALS
ON THIS BASIS, THEY WOULD CERTAINLY REFUSE TO
TABLE THE SUB-TOTALS FOR EACH EASTERN DIRECT
PARTICIPANT. HE ADDED THAT EVEN IF THE WEST
MADE THIS PROPOSAL WITHOUT STATING THE FRG
RATIONALE, THIS RATIONALE WOULD BE IMPLICIT.

11. BELGIAN REP (CROLLEN) AGREED WITH FRG REP
ON THE NEED FOR A PAUSE FOR REFLECTION. THE
ALLIES NEED TO EXAMINE WITH THE FRG WHETHER THERE
IS A LINK BETWEEN TABLING NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS
AND THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVITY. AT THIS
POINT, SINCE THE FRG SEES A LINK, THERE
IS A LINK. (COMMENT:
BELGIAN REP HAS EXPLAINED TO US PRIVATELY THAT
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BELGIUM WISHES TO SUPPORT FRG DESIRE FOR CAREFUL
CONSIDERATION OF THIS QUESTION, BECAUSE BELGIUM
RECOGNIZES THAT SOME OF THE FRG AUTHORITIES ARE
EXTREMELY CONCERNED BY THIS QUESTION. HE MADE
CLEAR THAT IF THE FRG CAME TO SUPPORT THE
TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS, BELGIUM WOULD BE
ABLE TO AS WELL. END COMMENT.)

12. UK REP SAID IT WAS CLEAR THAT THERE WOULD
BE NO NEW NAC GUIDANCE BY THE END OF THIS
NEGOTIATING ROUND. HE ASKED FRG REP HOW LONG

THE FRG ENVISAGED THAT THE STUDY OF VARIOUS MODELS FOR DATA EXCHANGE MIGHT TAKE, AND WOULD THE FRG BE CIRCULATING SOMETHING SPECIFIC ON THIS SUBJECT. WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE TO PRODUCE SOMETHING BY THE BEGINNING OF THE NEXT NEGOTIATING ROUND? FRG REP REPLIED THAT THIS WAS DIFFICULT TO FORESEE. THE LENGTH OF THE STUDY WOULD DEPEND ON INPUTS BY VARIOUS ALLIES. THE FRG WAS PREPARING A CONTRIBUTION.

13. CHAIRMAN SAID HE WONDERED IF IT WOULD NOT BE WORTH EXAMINING THE QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THE ALLIES SHOULD PUT DOWN THE US SUB-TOTALS UNILATERALLY, IN ORDER TO DIVERT

ATTENTION FROM THE LACK OF WESTERN RESPONSE TO THE EASTERN PROPOSAL TO EXCHANGE NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS FOR ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. ITALIAN REP SUPPORTED THIS SUGGESTION. US REP RECALLED THAT THE US HAD BEEN PREPARED TO HAVE ITS MANPOWER DATA TABLED ONLY AS PART OF A PRE-ARRANGED SIMULTANEOUS EXCHANGE OF US-SOVIET DATA, AND THIS POINT HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN THE NAC GUIDANCE AT US REQUEST. IN CORRIDOR
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CONVERSATIONS FOLLOWING THE MEETING, UK AND DUTCH REPS SUPPORTED THE CHAIRMAN'S SUGGESTION AS A TACTICAL MOVE, AND URGED THAT THE US CONSIDER IT. WE REITERATED THAT RECIPROCITY WAS IMPORTANT TO THE US ON THIS MATTER, BUT SAID THAT WE WOULD OF COURSE REPORT THE CHAIRMAN'S SUGGESTION.

14. CHAIRMAN STRESSED THE UTILITY OF HAVING A REPLY FOR THE AHG ON ITS REPORT TO THE NAC BY THE BEGINNING OF THE NEXT NEGOTIATING ROUND ON MAY 9. DURING THE DISCUSSION

ON THE DATE OF THE NEXT SPC MEETING, FRG AND ITALIAN REPS OPPOSED HAVING A MEETING ON THURSDAY OF THIS WEEK, ON GROUNDS THAT IT WOULD BE TOO SOON FOR THE KIND OF REFLECTION IN CAPITALS THAT WAS NEEDED. IN VIEW OF EASTER MONDAY HOLIDAY, AND SCHEDULE OF OTHER MEETINGS NEXT WEEK, THE NEXT SPC MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE ON THURSDAY, APRIL 14.

15. COMMENT: FRG AT THIS MEETING MADE CLEARER THAN EVER THAT BONN HAS MADE NO FINAL DECISION ON THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS AND NEEDS TIME TO REFLECT. THE FRG HAS NOT GIVEN THE IMPRESSION OF HAVING PROGRESSED VERY FAR WITH ANY INTERNAL CONSIDERATION OF ALTERNATIVE MODELS FOR DATA EXCHANGE. WE ASSUME THE FRG WILL BE INTERESTED

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IN DISCUSSING SUCH MATTERS BOTH BILATERALLY WITH
THE US AND IN NATO. WE BELIEVE THAT AT THE APRIL 14
SPC MEETING, THE US SHOULD OFFER AT LEAST A BRIEF,
INSTRUCTED COMMENT ON THE FRG PROPOSAL.

16. WE WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE GUIDANCE ON CHAIRMAN'S
SUGGESTION THAT US SUB-TOTALS NOW BE TABLED
UNILATERALLY AS A TACTIC ATO DIVERT ATTENTION
FROM THE QUESTION OF TABLING NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS
FOR ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. APRIL 14 WOULD BE TIME
ENOUGH FOR SUCH GUIDANCE, UNLESS WASHINGTON
REACTED FAVORABLY, IN WHICH CASE WE WOULD NEED
EARLY WASHINGTON GUIDANCE IN ORDER TO HAVE NAC
GUIDANCE BY END OF ROUND.

17. ACTION REQUESTED: A) AT LEAST BRIEF INSTRUCTED
RESPONSE TO FRG PROPOSAL, IN TIME FOR SPC MEETING
APRIL 14; B) GUIDANCE ON CHAIRMAN'S

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SUGGESTION FOR UNILATERAL TABLING OF US SUB-TOTALS,
IN TIME FOR SPC MEETING APRIL 14, UNLESS WASHINGTON
REACTS FAVORABLY, IN WHICH CASE WE WOULD NEED
EARLY GUIDANCE. STRAUSS-HUPE

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